







# THE JERUSALEM POST

Founded as The Palestine Post in 1922. Published daily except on Saturday in Jerusalem by The Palestine Post Ltd. Registered at the G.P.O.

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Subscriptions: Local - ILR.500  
per year. Abroad - ILR.60.

Wednesday, July 10, 1967  
11 Tammuz, 5727 - 12 Il-Hal, 1976

THE precarious nature of the calm in the Middle East is highlighted once more by the flare-up on the Syrian frontier. Yesterday's day's shooting, FIRE which began at noon and continued until the evening despite four separate U.N. attempts to impose a cease-fire, is not an isolated incident. The latest Syrian attacks were set off by a new form of disregard of existing agreements, for the trouble began some days ago with a group of Syrians who crossed the border and ploughed a stretch of land inside Israel territory. When attempts were made to dislodge them, fire was opened by Syrian regular forces. The situation in the area is made more difficult for Israel by the fact that the frontier lies about half-way up the foothills of the Syrian mountain range, and that as a result the Syrian attackers have a considerable tactical advantage. Yesterday, again, a police patrol was attacked when it moved out to inspect the land recently ploughed by the Syrians.

It must be admitted that the U.N. have proved singularly helpless in the face of these Syrian moves. On a recent occasion Colonel Leary gave it as his opinion that U.N. Observers arriving at the scene after an attack was already in progress could not establish which side had opened fire first, i.e. that guilt could not be established unless Israel waived her right to defend her citizens. The U.N. teams are thus not only incapable of preventing an attack or enforcing a cease-fire, but they are even unable, in most cases, to form a clear opinion of what has taken place. This position was further underlined yesterday by the fact that the attack began yesterday while Colonel Leary was actually in Damascus to discuss the recent incidents with Syrian leaders and, it is hoped, to impress on them the extremely grave view taken of them by the Israel Government.

What purpose is served by these attacks which could easily lead to more extended hostilities? It is hardly to be supposed at this juncture that Syria plans war upon Israel or has any hope of emerging victorious from such a conflict. To some extent, the shooting serves to inflame Arab nationalism, and to drum up support for the regime of the day, which can boast that it has fought off an Israel attack or whatever else the fertile imaginations in Damascus choose. Some clue to the ultimate purpose may also be contained in the recent propaganda stories emanating from Soviet sources that Israel is massing troops on the Syrian frontier and preparing an attack.

Not long after the Sinai campaign this story appeared persistently, and it was as totally false then as it is now. If the purpose of the Syrian attacks is merely to maintain tension in the area, it is a most dangerous game. The Israel Government clearly will not permit mass incursions across the border or attacks by regular forces using machineguns, rifles and mortars without taking action to defend itself. The result must be disastrous for the Syrian regime, and through it, for the Egyptian-Syrian axis and its powerful sponsors.

There is another thought to be added, and one that concerns Israel alone. It is that our frontier areas are vulnerable to the extent that they are empty. If the Syrian attacks are part of a planned campaign of disorder, the assault would in due course have come elsewhere, but the present site was chosen because the land was empty. Therefore the means must be found to complete the settlement of our frontiers, in the North as well as the South, lest it cost us more precious lives to defend the borders against invaders.

# FEDAYEEN MUST OBEY BLINDLY

HANDBOOK FOR UNDERGROUND FIGHTERS FOUND IN SINAI

By SHAYA SHAPIRO

THE Egyptian underground in foreign countries is a philosophy as well as an organization. The fedayeen groups are only part of the scheme in which "everybody receives a task according to his courage and disposition." Some are agents, some disseminate propaganda and some take part in fedayeen groups. The success of fedayeen operation is assured by proper cooperation between these elements."

The quotations are from a long document found by the Israel Army in Sinai. The document lists the aims of the underground fighters and explains the relations between the "State" and the fedayeen groups.

There is no date on the document. Nor is there any specific reference to Israel or any other country in which the underground is called to act. It is obviously a textbook of subversion prepared for the benefit of officers down the chain of command, and its precepts are as good for the Palestinians in Gaza as for the Algerians, the Lebanese, or anyone who may have the temerity to oppose Colonel Abdul Nasser's designs.

The underground fighters are the part of the nation that believes in the inherent rights of their country and oppose the conqueror in various ways," the preamble of the document says. The spies will bring information about the enemy, indicate the points in his defences and find out what will shatter his morale. The propagandists will strengthen the passive and active resistance of the people and spread rumours to lower enemy morale while fighting goes on. "Passive resistance will consist of slowing down production and paralysing communications to deprive the enemy of food and water. The active resistance will be performed by the fedayeen."

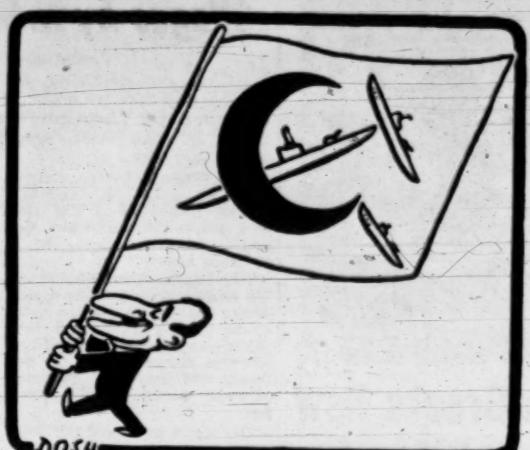
**Role of Women**

This, as well as the reference to the role of women in the underground fighting scheme, seems to indicate that the prescriptions are of a general nature. Some seem to have been copied from general works on guerrilla fighting, but others spring from particular Egyptian needs, but all refer to all "fronts" of Egyptian activity and not to Israel alone.

But Egypt — or "The State" as the document has it — will refuse to take any public responsibility for the underground unless the country against which the underground operates officially declares war. "If the State officially declares war on the enemy, there will be official statements between Government representatives and the men of the underground. The Government will also supply ammunition and care for the wounded."

The Government is also liable to impose on the underground some special task, such as the destruction of a certain object which might have an effect on future military operations. "The Government intends to wage open war at a later date, or to compel the enemy to abandon a position of indirect importance to the armed forces even though war is not declared officially," the document goes on.

If there is no declared war, the men of the underground must watch their step in order not to involve the Government in another political



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years, try at first to terrify it by opening a fierce fire in its direction so that the enemy may think that you are stronger than you are. Then, if you succeed in frightening him, you can return to a more convenient time. "Hit and Run" is the axiom. Never try to remain on the spot. Never try to remain on the spot to see what you have done. You must therefore plan your retreat before you plan your attack.

This is the first of two articles.

## Akaba Evacuation Seen from Eilat

BRITISH ACTUALLY CELEBRATED

By MEIR BEN DOV

EILAT —

The evacuation of the last British forces from the neighbouring port of Akaba has left the Israeli authorities a little indifferent. The frontier here has always been quiet (though not the road to the North where ambush and murder are all too frequent) and Eilat has no reason why there should be a change now.

Akaba, like the Jordan-held Old City of Jerusalem, is in a delicate strategic position: while the Israelis here are prepared to live peacefully with their Arab neighbours across the armistice lines, they are not likely to tolerate guerrilla action by guerrillas and murder gangs.

The border between Jordan's Akaba and Israel's Eilat runs along the middle of a three-kilometre belt of flat salt marshes which give little cover to the Israeli frontier, and are difficult to cross at night when their moisture content rises.

In itself is a sufficient deterrent to "private enterprise" thieves who cross the border at certain other places to steal.

Different tasks call for different kinds of performers. The women may be employed as nurses and propagandists, while members of the armed groups will perform operations which do not require special courage. The fedayeen will perform operations that require special courage of self-sacrifice.

There are "five basic principles of guerrilla warfare," which are listed as follows:

• Be brutal with your enemies. Do not pity him. Remember what the villagers say: "Eat the women before you eat the men." Kill the enemy before he kills you, for you may be assured that he would not care if you happened to fall in his hands.

• Never attack the enemy's main force. Do not attack his communications, his bases and his vehicles.

• Be flexible in all your operations. When you encounter a force that is stronger than

able accompanists were Mmes Rossa Gabbay and Rena Gelman.

**Here and Abroad**

PAUL Ben-Haim's 50th anniversary was celebrated at the Mille Club on Friday, July 5, in the name of the Jubilee Committee, addresses were delivered by Professor Shor, Dr. Schneid, and M. Aviav. Under the baton of Gary Bertini, the Rihat choir performed a capella works by Ben-Haim. A tape recording of "The Sweet Psalmist of Israel" for which he received the Israel Prize this year was also played. The composer himself closed the evening with his "Three Songs Without Words" for Cello and Piano with the young cellist Talmon Herz.

Georg Singer has returned from his very successful tour of opera and concert conductor of the Mille Club. In addition to invitations to return to the same podiums, Mr. Singer was offered engagements with other orchestras as well.

Michael Taube earned excellent reviews in the Berlin Press for conducting the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in a concert of works by Bach, Brahms and Joseph Tal. Taube's outstanding musicianship was especially lauded in connection with his interpretation of Brahms' First, Tal's first Symphony was also very favourably reviewed.

M.A.

## MUSICAL DIARY

Recital by Alisa Lewandowska, mezzo-soprano, assisted by Josef Fal, piano. (Beit Ha-Musica, July 6. Arles, Tel. 4283, Caldera, A. Scariatti; Songs by Moussorgsky; Arias by Donizetti, Saint-Saens, Blaet and Chakovsky.)

Chamber Music Society, in cooperation with the Jerusalem Musicians Association gave their subscribers an encore at the end of the season in the form of this recital. At last one could hear this singer in a number of songs by Moussorgsky, of which she is a marvellous interpreter, by Bach, Brahms and many other inclinations. The treasure of some 60 Moussorgsky songs is practically unknown to our public (and to our music students too) and an ideal performer of it amongst us cannot be overestimated. Lewandowska's dramatic talent proved to be a great asset in the large group of more commonly known artists.

Joseph Tal filled his part as somewhat absentmindedly.

The concerts organized by the two groups maintained an appreciable level throughout the season and were thus instrumental not only in giving enjoyment to many connoisseurs of good music but in surely winning new friends, especially amongst our young people, the "old-fashioned" art of chamber music.

**Hubermann Memorial.**

To commemorate the tenth anniversary of Hubermann's death, his personality and great artistic career was called at a meeting of the music circle at Jerusalem's Beeri Club on July 8. Mr. David Rosolio sketched a portrait of the artist and the man and Dr. Meir Katz read excerpts from his writings dealing with his political creed.

One of Hubermann's plans to organize a school for gifted children where music would take priority over the other studies, is still awaiting realization. He hoped that this programme would draw talent from abroad to this country and avoid the moving of our local prodigies

to centres of study somewhere else.

Some rare exhibits, containing, amongst others, autographs by Joachim and Brahms attesting to the "Wunderkind's" exceptional musical gifts, were displayed by the late master's widow, Mrs. Blaet.

With the appearance of the Second Album of 12 Songs (Israel Composers Association Publishing House) by Israel Composers — Amiran, P. Ben-Haim, Daus, Green, Hoffman, Karmi, Laskin, Margalit, Salomon, Vardim, Shlonsky, Wolbe and Zamir, a concert was arranged by the Israel Composers Association in conjunction with the Mille Artists Club. It was a very interesting caleidoscope of the composers' different ways of expression, which ranged in style from the folksloristic to the most avant-garde.

The songs were very attractively presented by Mmes Edith Goldschmidt, Alisa Yigal, Reema Samsonov, Julia Stutschewsky and Meara Ephraim Biran, Joseph Blumberg and Eytan Reich. The viewed.

Hatsofe (World Mizrahi) discusses Britain's final clearing out of the last Jordan base of Akaba ten weeks before the Six-Day War, and of outstanding efforts on behalf of the Arabs, especially Jordan. The thanks Britain got for her pains is expulsion. Israel is all in favour of having peoples free themselves of foreign guardianship, provided, of course, that such an attainment is not exploited by aggression-minded politicians.

**Ones** (Histadrut) adds that, for all its experiences, Britain has not learnt its lesson for it is now turning to Egypt whom it hopes to appeal to at Israel's expense.

In connection with all that we cannot help but bring up the fact that all this would have been otherwise had not our Government decided to concede the positions we won in the Sinai campaign...

**Davar** (Histadrut) notes that Nasser has inadvertently admitted that it is not with the welfare of the Arab refugees that he is concerned but rather with the demise of the State of Israel to come.

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The American Government is trying its best to push the Egyptian dictator into a political and economic dead end, but London's appeasement efforts may yet frustrate it.

**Al Haninshar** (Mapam) wonders why the Israel representative has been content with asking America for a clarification of its supplying Jordan with arms.

What with the Amman Chief-

Staff's boast that "the Arabs are with us," and the

fact that the

Arabs are with us,

nothing we must clearly tell both Moscow and Washington,

nothing to be desired.

M.A.

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International Seminar Views Evolution of Regime

## Post-Stalin Era Under Scientist's Glass

BY W.Z. LAQUEUR

The pamphlet contains several suggestions to the fedayeen. Being a "jeddo" is not a pastime." Each man must be prepared to sleep in the desert, in a ditch or in a tree-top. Alcohol is discouraged. In particular "beware of people. Distinguish between the young and the old. Never speak about your work. Keep silent and listen to others talking, in order to get information. Your motto should be: Never trust a man, trust your gun only.

"A basic principle is to try and keep your enemy in the dark about your identity. An underground fighter is like a spy. Nobody knows what he does, not even his relatives. Externally, he arouses no suspicion. Sometimes he appears as a rich man who speaks his mother tongue, lavishly, sometimes he looks dejected and seems as if he can hardly make ends meet. Do not try to understand why. This is the task of experts among the Intelligence people."

Above all, the "volunteer" should not try to understand the orders he receives, for they are given according to "a general plan of which you know nothing."

This is the first of two articles.

created by the continued emphasis on heavy industry production, and among writers and intellectuals, a growing dissatisfaction with orthodoxy, censorship and the all-pervading party outlook. All these lasties are, of course, of enormous importance for long-term Western policy vis-à-vis Russia and Eastern Europe) recently at a week's conference on "Changes in Soviet Society" at St. Anthony's College in Oxford. The conference, convened by the 20th Party Congress, and evaluated the de-Stalinization campaign which promised both a détente with the West and relaxation of extreme controls at home — and which later seemed to be replaced, for the time being at least, by a re-Stalinization campaign.

Also among the subjects of the conference's eight full sessions (and innumerable discussions) was an appraisal of some of the more far-reaching problems generated by new social forces within Soviet society: the restlessness of the youth, despite two generations of indoctrination; the desire for legal rights and an end to unfairness; the layers of the population; the latent resistance to the forced policy of sacrifice and deprivation.

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At the very first session ("the potentialities for change and the constraints") opinion was comparative "outsider," Mr. Daniel Bell of Columbia University, in brilliant paper headed "The Prediction of Soviet Behaviour in the Social Sciences, or Ten Theories in Search of Reality." In this he tried to find which of the many theories and approaches to Soviet affairs have stood up in explaining events and which have not, so that if one were a policymaker, which one would understand in the future and why.

Mr. Bell gave a detailed analysis of the various "characterological" theories that had tried to apply to Soviet affairs the tools of anthropology (the culture and personality concept) or psychology (Nathan Leites and others). He then reviewed the sociological approaches developed at Harvard and elsewhere, and the various political theories: Neo-Leninist (Deutscher), Neo-Marxist (Professor Fainsod of Harvard discussed in his paper "Changes in the structure of Soviet power" and sought to examine them for the light they could throw on a possible mellowing of the Soviet system. He left the question whether such a mellowing was probable open.

Mr. Bertram Wolfe, biographer of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, was less cautious in his contribution (significantly called "the durability of despotism in the Soviet system") than Bell. Wolfe did not deny the social and political changes that have taken place but he stressed that there were changes within a unique totalitarian system which always preserved its rule and which had very effective built-in staying powers.

**Anglo-Saxon Belief**

Mr. Wolfe sought to show that no change, except perhaps a violent one, could make Soviet totalitarianism disappear. He and several other speakers expressed the opinion that the Soviet leaders were forced to carry out a certain rationalization by the exigencies of modern industrialized society; but this was not tantamount to gradual democratization and liberalization. The familiar Anglo-Saxon belief in the inevitable mellowing of all revolutionary regimes was a fallacy: no party dictatorship could in the long run justify its existence without a basically irrational belief in a despotic enemy and without periodic purges, i.e. without taking refuge in some of the essential elements of Stalinism.

Professor Raymond Aron of the Sorbonne and some of the spokesmen of the Harvard Centre for Russian studies on the other hand counseled extreme prudence. Was not Mr. Wolfe too rigid in accepting the Soviet system on its own terms? Was not the Soviet system too subject to the strong influence of social and political forces on which, in the long run, it had but little control — the desire for greater security and comfort on the part of the new upper and middle strata in Soviet society, for instance? And was not an attempt to Stalinize quite impossible?

Most of the participants at the conference took an intermediate position between these two extremes, and in this context another important debate followed: how much is Leninist (Stalinist) ideology?

One group of experts, including some who had just returned from visits to Russia, maintained that it was

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